

DISCONTENT

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS"

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WHOLE NO. 165.

LEST WE FORGET.

To the Chicago Martyrs.

Forget them, our comrades, the true and the noble,
Who marched with the foremost in Liberty's van,
Who plead for the cause of the weak and down-trodden,
Who spoke the great word of the freedom of man?

Forget them, our brothers, the sweet and the tender,
Who lived for the sake of a world that was blind,
Who recked not the slander, nor heeded the peril,
Secure in the truth, and the love of their kind?

Forget them, our heroes, the strong and the fearless,
Who faced the wild beast in its innermost lair,
Who blenched not, though lashed by the rage of the tempest,
Who taught slaves and tyrants what freemen can dare?

Forget them, our martyrs, the grand and the peerless.
Who mastered the scaffold, and conquered the grave,
Who murdered are living, and dying are deathless,
Whose memory lives in the hearts of the brave?

Forget them? When hopeless and shrouded in darkness,
When heavy the burden and long the delay;
They brighten the blackness, and speak from the silence,
And point through the clouds to the dawn of the day.

Forget them? By liberty scorned and dishonored,
By justice entangled in sophistry's net,
By truth doomed to drudge in the service of falsehood;
By love turned to hatred—WE WILL NOT FORGET!

Forget them? When lost to the meaning of manhood,
And deaf to the cause which inspired us of yore,
We crouch with the craven or turn with the traitor,
THEN we may forget—for they know us no more!

Forget them? Humanity's triumph approaches;
The harvest is ripe from the seed they have sown.
Forget them? Ye cannot, ye sons of the future,
When freedom is victor, they come to their own!

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

TO THE LIBERAL PUBLIC.

So many inquiries have been received concerning the arrest of certain members of the Home Colony, that it is desirable at the present time to give a succinct account of the whole matter, and to expose the full significance of this latest assault on the liberty of the press. All to whom the cause of free speech is dear are urged to see that the facts in the case are given the widest possible circulation.

The present outrage, committed under the notorious Comstock law, is not the first of its kind, although it pushes the vicious principle of a postal censorship much farther than most of the previous cases. The prosecutions of Bennett, Heywood, Harman, Pope, Berrier,

Ruedebusch, Moore and others paved the way for this attack, which is, in effect, a denial of the right of American citizens to discuss the sex question at all. In this respect, there is already less freedom in the United States than in any other country in the world. Anglo-Saxon prudery, which has proved ridiculously ineffective as a shield of morality, is deservedly a target for ridicule by all continental Europe. Hitherto, however, it was supposed that even this absurdly exaggerated prudery had its bounds. The precedent which this extraordinary prosecution seeks to establish would negative this too sanguine view.

There is, however, more than prudery in this invasion of human rights. It is too significantly timed to occur at the exact moment when public passion, fanned by the malignant slanders of an unscrupulous daily press, was most bitterly excited against Anarchists in general, and the Home colonists in particular. The Tacoma News inadvertently betrayed the true animus of the whole despicable proceeding, by styling the arrests "a blow against Anarchy." The Ledger, Tacoma's yellow journal par excellence, intimated that the action was well-timed, as forestalling, by persecution under legal forms, an attempt, for some time insidiously incited by itself, to break up the colony by mob violence. It must therefore be patent, even to the dullest intellect, that this is not in any sense an honest prosecution. It is simply a case of persecution for opinion's sake; and no amount of hair splitting can make anything else out of it. It is a part of the general imperialist program for the complete suppression of free speech in this country. It remains to be seen how long the people will suffer the courts of the United States to be used for any such purpose.

The principal facts in the case are as follows.

On Tuesday, September 24, 1901, Charles L. Govan, James W. Adams and James E. Larkin were arrested on presentment of the grand jury, sitting at Spokane, Wash., on the charge of "depositing, lewd, lascivious and obscene literature in the mails." The accused were taken from their place of residence, Home, Pierce county, state of Washington, to Spokane, where they were released on bail, fixed at \$1,000 apiece. The venue was transferred to Tacoma, Wash., where they are to appear next February before the Federal court, where Judge Hanford will preside.

The matter complained of consists of two articles in different issues of DISCONTENT, a paper published at Home, Wash., with which the accused were connected in different capacities, the responsibility being assumed by J. E. Larkin. One of the articles is "A Healthy Comparison," by James W. Adams, in No. 128 of the paper. No. 127 is also cited in the indictment which has just been received. The

defence will enter no denial of responsibility, nor of the printing and mailing of the papers containing the articles in question. The contention will be simply that the matter complained of is not obscene, either in the general acceptance of the term, or in a legal sense. It consisted of certain contributed articles, written in language whose propriety and decency is beyond dispute. The question solely relates to ideas, and not to choice of words. The articles are argumentative in tone, and neither intended nor calculated to inflame sexual passion. One of them blames the double standard of morality commonly applied to the sexes. The articles in No. 127 are not specified, and a careful search fails to reveal any plausible ground for complaint. The charge may be based on a chapter in "Chains." If this trial should result in a conviction, it would establish a precedent for the suppression of the discussion of sexual problems, even in the chanciest language. The case is free from complications, and is capable of an admirable defence. It is a test case, a plain question of free speech, of whether American citizens have a right to discuss social questions from different standpoints. Whether the ideas expressed be true or false, wise or unwise, the right of honest expression and straightforward argument is vital to the elementary principles of human liberty.

Some of the salient points in the affair are well set forth in the following communication from Edward W. Chamberlain.

"It is so clear that this pretence of obscenity is a malicious fabrication, that a mere statement of the facts should be sufficient to dispose finally of the preposterous charge. The attack is the outcome of the assassination of Mr. McKinley, and results directly from the wide-spread prejudice engendered by the sensational publication of an alleged or pretended confession of the assassin, by which alleged or pretended confession an effort was made to implicate many Anarchists throughout the country as co-conspirators with the assassin.

"Unprincipled officials whose most solemn duty it was to maintain the constitutional rights of these defendants and protect them against the operation of such prejudice, moved either by the prejudice itself or, as is more likely, by the prospect of making some capital for themselves by the persecution of these defendants, have permitted the laws to be perverted to the carrying out of this infamous business, the purpose of which is to cripple the usefulness of the colony and suppress and silence its paper—DISCONTENT.

"It should not be forgotten that this is the second attack of a similar nature which the colony has had to sustain.

"An examination of the matter published in DISCONTENT, which it is pretended is obscene, will show the utter falsity of the accusation. It will also show how strained an effort was made to fabricate the accusation; for the two articles inculpated as obscene, while neither of them are obscene in any particular, one of them was published so long ago as last January and would never have been pressed into service for the purpose of such an accusation had it not been necessary to go back over the

old files of the paper to find something available to maintain the pretence.

"This article was a condensation and extract from a pamphlet by Rachel Campbell issued many years ago which has been reprinted in several forms and in various editions and which no one until now has ever thought of being obscene. Rachel Campbell's 'Prodigal Daughter' is a work of the highest merit and the noblest morality. And nothing can better illustrate the brutality and immorality of the present attack than the selection of this article upon which to base a charge of obscenity.

"The gravamen of the offence being 'the depositing in the mails' of the inculpated matter only those of the three defendants who 'deposited or caused to be deposited' can be legally convicted under the statute. As Adams was simply a contributor and Govan only a compositor, and neither had anything to do with the mailing, neither can be legally convicted. Other cases, however, in which innocent persons have been convicted fully demonstrate how indifferent to justice are our courts in such cases. The postoffice inspector, whose conduct differs from that of his associates by being more arrogant and brutal, when asked why three men were indicted, when only one could possibly be held under the law, replied: 'To be sure I got the right one,' thus showing a recklessness in procuring arrests and a disregard of citizen's rights fully up to the standard of his abominable office."

The comrades at Home do not propose to surrender their liberties, without testing the matter thoroughly. They know their rights, and are determined to maintain them. Popular ignorance and prejudice are the great stumbling-blocks to be met and overcome. Victory or defeat will be of the utmost significance to both the friends and the enemies of freedom. It means the establishment of a precedent which will either strengthen or cripple the liberty of the press. Which shall it be? YOUR action or indifference may decide the matter. Here is a perfectly straightforward issue, on which Liberals of every school can unite. It is not for the glory of DISCONTENT, or of the ideas which DISCONTENT represents. It is solely a question of vindicating the freedom of the press from the vicious assault made upon it by those who hate all progress.

A fundamental need is that of money. Expenses are very heavy; and subscriptions to the defence fund are coming in but slowly. Send contributions to Oliver A. Verity, Home, Wash. Do not wait until tomorrow; but act now, if you love liberty.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

"Account yourself happy, if it be your lot to espouse some noble and unpopular cause in the beginning; to stand by its cradle; to throw yourself on its broad altar; to see it grow; to help it grow; to see it at first arouse curiosity, then attention, then contempt, then hatred, then fear, then respect; always growing and growing, until at last, over, prejudice and hate and party and old customs and vested interests, the irresistible current makes its way."

DISCONTENT

"MOTHER OF PROGRESS".

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OFF AND ON.

The outrages against free speech are not confined to any one section of the country. From every direction, reports continue to flow in, of such a nature as to lead the thoughtful to wonder whether we are really living in the twentieth century. A typical story comes from Texas, where the victim was, as in many instances, not an Anarchist, but a Socialist.

It seems that down there the imperialistic idea of *lese majeste* has developed so far, that it is a kind of treason to criticize the almighty police. At any rate, Frank D. Lyons, the Socialist in question, was arrested while making a speech in Beaumont, Texas; and the lineal descendant of Dogberry, who perpetrated the outrage, gravely explained that "Lyons began speaking in behalf of the negroes, scored the police and said that the laboring man was not receiving his rights." Hence we learn what constitutes a crime in that centre of culture and broad toleration known as Beaumont, Texas. Evidently the authorities there are so far under Comstockian influence, that the sight of the naked truth throws them into convulsions. The same night, apparently with the connivance of at least one of the offi'ers of the law, Lyons was given a sharp lesson of the heinousness of attempting to tell the truth in Texas. He was taken from his cell into the woods, beaten almost to death and finally let go, with a warning never to show his face in Beaumont again. Thus is the majesty of the existing social order triumphantly vindicated. In one respect, however, Beaumont manifests a striking superiority over Tacoma and various other cities. It has a fairly respectable daily press, which condemns thuggery, instead of applauding or condoning it.

At Puyallup, Wash., on the occasion of a recent county fair, the agents of governmentalism placed themselves in a distinctly farcical light, by their insolent attempt to trample on the rights of the Woman Suffragists. These ladies had one of the finest booths at the fair, and were well equipped with an imposing display of books and pamphlets. In an unlucky moment, however, along came a certain marshal, "drest in a little brief authority," eagerly nosing around for something which he might identify with the horrent nightmare of Anarchy. Something in the appearance of the Woman Suffrage booth attracted the attention of this erudite official; and he paused for closer investigation. Horrors on horrors! Here were his worst fears fully justified. In a post of honor, he perceived a copy of the New Voice, a well known Prohibition organ, which, as the learned marshal vaguely recollects, had ventured to condemn some of the acts of "the Lord's Anoint-

ed," in the old days when America was still enough of a republic to permit the criticism of its rulers. Shades of Lord Jeffries! That these things should actually come to pass in this well-ordered empire! This comes of too much reading of that treasonable and seditious document, the Declaration of Independence, and that absurd dead letter, the guarantee of free speech in the first amendment to the constitution of the United States. The marshal shuddered at the thought; and his heated imagination conjured up strange and awful phantasms of a resurrected liberty, boding ill to him and his kind. While yet speechless from the shock, his eye lit on a still more frightful object, from which he recoiled as from a viper. The offending spectacle was a book, bound in bright red covers. It was a work on "Trusts," by Rev. Charles Vail; but the doughty marshal neither wotted nor recked aught of the title or the contents. With him, as with his superior in intelligence, the wild bull, the color alone was all sufficient to harrow up his very soul, and to cause his

"Knotted and combined locks to part;
And each particular hair to stand on end,
Like quills upon the fretful porcupine."

Poking with his cane at the causes of his spleen, he coolly informed the astonished women that they must vacate the booth which had been duly assigned to them. Vainly did they protest against this extraordinary infringement on their rights. Drawing himself up to the full height of outraged imperialism, this worthy representative of the majesty of the law uttered the classic and memorable words: "You're agin the government; and I'm agin you." In brief, the autocrat of an hour commanded the women whose taste in literature chanced to offend him to "stand not upon the order of their going, but go at once." But the end was not yet. The managers of the fair, getting wind of what was going on, hastened to the scene of action, and succeeded in persuading the irate marshal that he had overstepped his authority, and was hunting the wrong quarry. The ladies, however, were thoroughly aroused by this time, and would not consent to remain on any terms where they had been so grossly and wantonly insulted. The net result of this bit of imperialism was

to spoil the attractiveness of the fair,

and seriously interfere with its receipts, and to make the bumptious marshal the laughingstock of the whole county. Great are the glories of imperialism!

The calibre of the officers received several fine illustrations. When Emma Goldman was being taken to the county jail in a patrol wagon, a policeman who was holding her arm made some outrageously insulting remarks. She demanded the release of her arm, and slapped his face. The brute had the wonderful courage of a police officer, and struck her in the face, knocking out one of her teeth.

There was a great scandal in the police department; and they seized upon the excitement to hush the matter up with the Anarchist case; but they made themselves so contemptibly ridiculous, that they now prefer to face the scandal. Great are the Chicago police; and they are the butt of the whole country.—Abe Isaak, Jr., in Free Society.

This is one of those cases in which comment can add nothing to a statement of the nakedly monstrous fact. The police are instruments and typical

products of governmentalism. It is no wonder that they are as brutal and as bad as the system which breeds them.

The old saying, "Speak no evil of the dead," is to be commended on many grounds. At the same time, its enforcement by physical violence is emphatically to be deprecated for yet more weighty reasons. A man who detested the living McKinley would undoubtedly do better to allow death to end his resentment; but to rebuke his poor taste by supplying him with a coat of tar and feathers, batteing him over the head with a bludgeon or throwing him out of employment, and driving him to starvation, is a most undesirable mode of seeking to effect a cure. Especially is this the case, when the adage is taken to apply only to rulers. In a supposed democracy, the post mortem reputation of a president, like that of any other man, must ultimately depend on "the deeds done in the flesh;" and if these will not stand uninspiring criticism, the case is not to be bettered by the unlimited persecution of those who lift the voice of censure. McKinley, for example has passed outside the range of both flattery and detraction. His virtues and his faults alike belong to history. If his enemies tend to overestimate the latter, his friends exhibit at least an equal readiness to exaggerate the former. The establishment of a just and impartial verdict is not to be accelerated by the easy process of suppressing all the testimony on the adverse side. Neither is the cause of democracy advanced by placing the good name of a president on a higher level than that of any other man. Nor is the stability of society sensibly promoted by invoking mob violence against those who express unpopular views. No such condition of affairs ever before existed in this country; nor would it today, if the subtle poison of imperialism had not already eaten far into the moral fibre of the American people.

It is a noticeable fact, and one greatly to the credit of the Anarchist movement, that its representative speakers and papers are always foremost to defend the rights of those who do not think as they do. When an unjust attack has been made on Mormons, Dowieites, Socialists or even a man like C. C. Moore, the Anarchists of the country look beyond the person to the principle involved, and join heartily in the effort to secure redress. Nordo wait any time regret our championship of any victim of injustice. At the same time, it is to be regretted that a similar spirit is so markedly wanting among those who have received the most evidence of the Anarchist sense of fair play that they should be most prompt to join the ranks of the malicious detractors of Anarchy. Unlike the thoughtless crowd, THEY KNOW BETTER; and the pitiable cowards which leads them to deny the truth, for fear that suspicion may attach to them of sympathy with Anarchist ideas, stamps them as constitutionally unfit to occupy prominent positions in any great forward movement. During the prevalence of the now rapidly subsiding wave of popular frenzy, the mettle of the Liberals of the country was fairly tested. Without sacrificing an iota of their own convictions, the way was open to them,

by simply telling the truth, to stand forth as advocates of justice to all men, including the berated and persecuted Anarchists. Some few Liberals saw the opportunity thus offered them, and measured fully up to it; but the great majority proved shamefully recreant to their high ideals. It is not necessary to single out conspicuous instances of this timorous dishonesty, coupled, in certain instances, with an almost incredibly base personal ingratitude. The names of many such will readily occur to those who have kept themselves well posted on current events. It may be permitted us, however, "more in sorrow than in anger," to express our unfeigned disappointment that so much poltroonery should be found in the ranks of these who profess to be the leaders of advanced thought. Let it at least be hoped that, by the time they have thoroughly recovered from their scare, the more intelligent among them will have sufficient grace to be heartily ashamed of the sorry figure they have cut as the tail of the conservative kite; and that the next great crisis may find them prepared to bring forth fruits meet for repentance, and to quit them like men, in behalf of what they know to be the truth.

By way of partial atonement, the mild suggestion may be tolerated that the present fight of DISCONTENT for free speech affords such an opportunity of doing valiant service for the Liberal cause as does not occur more than once in a generation. Read the details of the affair, as given elsewhere in this issue; and then take off your coat, and go to work, not for DISCONTENT, nor for anything in the Anarchist philosophy which may not present itself to you in the light of a truth, but on behalf of the common cause of Liberalism, and for the sake of securing the triumph of the all-important principle of the liberty of the press in the United States of America. There should be no laggards in such a contest, much less any desertions to the enemy.

The welcome news has just reached us that Free Society has at last been granted second-class rates. The privilege could never have been taken away, except by the exercise of the grossest chicanery. The authorities are admittedly in the wrong all the way through; but there is no thought of reimbursing our comrades for the extra expense which has been forced upon them, or of making the slightest reparation to them for the wrong they have suffered. Such is the kind paternalism of our benign government!

A Kansas Congressman has decided that this government can maintain its national existence only on condition of transforming itself into one of the rankest despotisms the world has ever yet seen. In pursuance of this laudable design, this degenerate descendant of ancestors to whom liberty was not altogether meaningless has formulated a bill which, if enacted into law, would put a permanent quietus on what remnants of freedom are still to be found in this country. According to the terms of this preposterous measure, to "diffuse the doctrine of Anarchy" is made a crime punishable with DEATH! To belong to any organization, "the object of which is to overthrow, subvert or CHANGE(!) the government of the United States," draws an imprisonment of at least twenty years. This piece of Russianism would squelch the Socialists, Single Taxers, Bryanites, Populists, Prohibitionists, Woman Suffragists and all other "reformers." It is also made a crime to expose public officials "to public hatred, scorn or contempt." This superlative bit of asininity may not become law; but its very proposition illustrates the trend of imperialist intention.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

DISCONTENT

OUTSIDE TESTIMONY.

Since the time of the assassination of President McKinley, and especially since his death, a stranger who had no other source of information would think from the newspapers that he reads that half the people in the United States are Anarchists. Also from the reading of the papers, and from the speeches heard, he would think an Anarchist was a person who claimed it is right to shoot whomever he pleased; claimed it his right to determine who is fit to live, and those he judged not fit it is right to kill.

But, as a matter of fact, there are very few such people. There are nearly 80,000,000 people in the United States. How many of them ever saw a person who claimed such a right? How many who reads this article ever saw one? It may be set down as unquestionable that there are a thousand other murderers to one murderous Anarchist. Perhaps if we would say a hundred thousand it would not be out of the way. There have been three presidents assassinated. How many of them were assassinated by so-called Anarchists? Nobody ever said Booth was an Anarchist. Nobody ever called Guiteau an Anarchist. Prendergast assassinated the elder Harrison, mayor of Chicago. Was Prendergast an Anarchist? A man, or men, assassinated Dr. Cronin, of Chicago. Were they called Anarchists? A man assassinated Governor Goebel, of Kentucky. Was he claimed to be an Anarchist? Dr. Goebel himself had premeditately shot a man in the back and killed him. Did the country go crazy about Anarchists on that account? Who ever said Goebel was an Anarchist?

There has just been one murder in this country by a person called an Anarchist. Czolgosz said he was an Anarchist. But from first to last all the indications are that his pretense is merely to have an excuse for his crime. Because he said he was an Anarchist ten persons called Anarchists were arrested in Chicago and kept in jail a week or two as coconspirators. In New York City also arrests were made. Herr Most, said to be the chief of all Anarchists, is one of the arrests. Very little reflection, unhampered by prejudice, bigotry or superstition would lead the mind to the certain conclusion that they had no more to do with the assassination than Boss Hanna had.

Columns and pages of newspapers have been filled with proposed laws for punishing Anarchists. They would make laws suppressing newspapers that would advocate assassination, and they would imprison or exile for life the editors of such newspapers. Now, readers, tell us: How many of you ever saw a newspaper that advocated assassination? Give us your ear and your confidence for a moment and we'll tell you something. There is no such newspaper! And yet the denunciations are repeated so often, and in such violent terms, that it seems as if everybody had come to think there were such papers. Just think of it for a moment, a newspaper, or a print of any kind, sent out for readers, that advocates the assassination of a president or of any other person! Anybody of common sense ought to know that there is no such publication. No new law is needed to suppress them. There is plenty of law already. If men are going to commit a crime

they do not put the fact in print. They know they would be "jugged" before their papers could get to the readers.

The Anarchy of our time is the witchcraft of Cotton Mather's time. Sarah Good of her time may do for Emma Goldman of ours—innocent of evil, harmless as doves. The Anarchists are made scapegoats for official plunderers and assassins. Captain Alberti, the ex-Russian officer who lectured in Lancaster some time in the past year, said that the crimes charged to Anarchists were not committed by Anarchists. There was no excitement about Anarchists at that time, and when he said this, he could be heard with patience. Anarchy is in itself no crime. If a man is a member of the Methodist church and commits a murder it doesn't follow that all Methodists must be hanged or exiled.

There have in fact been many thousands of murders committed in the name of religion, while you can count on your fingers all that are charged to Anarchy in both hemispheres. The Anarchists are simply a society that holds that the world has arrived at that plane of intelligence wherein society would be better without formal laws than with them. They hold that law is an instrument wielded for the advantage of those who get into positions to enforce them. Who will deny that there is much truth in their claim? If Thomas Jefferson were alive now he would be classed as an Anarchist. His Declaration of Independence is an Anarchist document. It recites that governments are instituted among men for certain ends, and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to abolish it. The school of Anarchists thinks our government has become destructive of the ends for which it was intended, and that it ought to be abolished, but that they offer to do it by assassinations is a pretense that originates with the official thugs who hope thus to dupe the people and conceal their own crimes. Of course the Anarchists are mistaken in their philosophy, but Jefferson said; "Errors of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." It will be found as great an undertaking to kill Anarchy by killing non-combative Anarchists as for murderous Anarchists to kill governments by killing its officers.—Lancaster, Wis., Teller.

Rev. Dr. Heber Newton, rector of All Souls Protestant Episcopal church, amazed his congregation by radical utterances on the subject of Anarchism. His views came as a surprise to many, while some, who knew the trend of his mind, were astonished at the rector's bluntness. Dr. Newton took for his text the seventeenth verse of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew: "Think not I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill." In part he said:

"The appalling crime of September brings the nation face to face with the problem of Anarchy. On the day on which the death of the president occurred one of the leading journals declared 'Scratch a Socialist and you will find an Anarchist.'

"This is as though it had said: 'Scratch a Republican and you will find a Democrat,' 'scratch a Catholic and you will find a Protestant.' Democrats and Republicans alike are striving for the good of the country; Catholics and

Protestants are both seeking the kingdom of God, but they are moving intellectually in different directions. Archbishop Corrigan, in his letter to the clergy, lumped together Socialism and Anarchism. Cardinal Gibbons seemed to have done the same thing. Both dignitaries quote Pope Leo, who, if the reports of the latest pronouncement are correct, has not only confounded Socialism and Anarchism, but has mixed them up with Free Masonry and Judaism.

"The ideal of Anarchism is the making of individuals in temporary forms, free to break up at any time, and reorganize in any form to suit the whim of the moment. The ideal of Socialism is a vast organization, in which all are parts of a stupendous whole, its type a human body. No one but a fool would lump together Socialism and Anarchism.

"Perhaps the most remarkable religious leader at the present time is the Russian, Tolstoi, who is an individual Anarchist. He does not believe in law, not because he would have chaos; but he would have men govern themselves, in the broadest sense of the word.

"Anarchism is in reality the ideal of political and social science, and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Jesus Christ looked forward. Christ founded no church, established no state, gave practically no law, organized no government and set up no external authority, but he did seek to write on the hearts of men God's law and make them self legislating.

"The most appalling fact of life is the multiplication of paupers, tramps, vagabonds—diseased, insane and criminal—who become the parents of future generations. Anarchism is a revolt from an oppressive and unjust social order, which generates poverty and disease. . . In our country, there is no justification for terrorism. It is an outrage against society, a crime against humanity and a barrier to future progress.

"The problem of revolutionary Anarchism is a problem not for statesmen alone. . . We must learn to hold all life, even in its humblest forms, sacred. We must seek and embody whatever truth there is in philosophical Anarchism. We must individually seek to realize the ideal, and become each of us self-governing beings, enshrining the moral law so as to need no restraint of external legislation."—Press Dispatch.

A BIT OF JUSTICE.

Various attempts have been made to explain wherein the Socialist and the Anarchist agree and differ and in all the numerous explanations none so fairly state the two positions as does Morton's article in DISCONTENT of October 26.

For years the two theories have waged war against the common enemy, along widely different lines, and each one is nearer, some nearer, to the solution; but there is no real victory possible until the Socialist and the Anarchist get together and compromise and work cooperatively.

On the one hand we have human beings worked like an automaton; on the other hand no system, and possible chaos—as Morton says—and each body of workers struggling for the same ultimate end.

Karl Marx analyzed social production, and he maintains that the socialized industry is the most economical industry.

Tucker decries socialized industry because it negates the individual's right not to cooperate.

Morton recognizes that the factors for success make for a common end, and must come together, failing to do which success for either is improbable.

The theory of government as now practiced is not really government at all unless we forego the real attitude or the real idea of government.

The question which we are all trying

to solve is how to best regulate the system of things under which we live without taking away from anyone their right to be free.

Under Socialism we have "unless you work you can't eat;" under Anarchism "from each in accordance with his means, to each according to his needs." The one rather forces fairness and justice, for every person is capable of performing some useful task. The other would give to each as he needs it, and rather inclines to permit a possible injustice.

Fundamentally those were the positions; the present growth of intellects has found that in neither have we the absolute solution; the question is now for a solution, and it is well that so able a fellow as Morton has the honesty, the insight, the broadness of mind to admit it, to suggest it.

There will be no response from the Socialists, for they will herald it as a weakening of the Anarchist's position, but real thoughtful Socialists recognize the necessity for amalgamation of the two, at present, antithetical positions.

THE IDLER.

A LETTER.

The following is an extract from a letter written to me by a friend.

"DISCONTENT is sent to me; and I see by the last one that our government officials, whom we pay to protect us in our right to life, liberty and happiness, have again taken it upon themselves to meddle with what is none of their business. Will you write me how it is possible to make a case, where the offence was in republishing what was already in circulation, and had been for a year? I bought the magazine that contained the article entitled 'The Prodigal Daughter,' and have let anyone read it who wished; and no one has thought of calling it 'obscene literature.' If anyone is to be dealt with on that line, it seems as if it should be the editor who first published the article. It seems as if it was done only to hinder the work of the men who edit DISCONTENT. People have such an erroneous idea of the true meaning of Anarchy, that it makes it hard for those who believe in the true Anarchistic doctrine; but we will stand by our principles. It has turned out to be just what I said to my friends here. The one who shot McKinley is a Republican."

My husband says: "The reason of there being no time limit must be due to the fact that this class of offences, whether assumed or real, against the 'obscenity' laws may, according to provisos be rated as criminal. In this instance, as I see it, the assassination of McKinley furnished the opportunity, in accordance with the determination to exterminate the Anarchists, to hunt a plausible pretext for suppressing DISCONTENT."

To my mind, these enlightened savages, who have as little idea of Anarchy as my old cat, are, according to THEIR definition of the word, the Anarchists, and we the law-abiding, peaceful citizens, whose only wish or desire is "to be good, and do good."

SADIE A. MAGOON.

I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions.—Emerson.

DISCONTENT

SOMETHING ABOUT DISCONTENT.

A little over three years ago, there came into our midst a rather clerical appearing man, who, after looking our location over, and gaining a knowledge of the aims and objects of the Mutual Home Association, proposed that we start a paper upon the anarchistic plan of voluntary cooperation. The outcome of that proposition was the erection of a small building, 12 by 14 feet, at a cost of ten dollars for material. Voluntary donation of labor, type, etc., brought this little paper into life, with the hope that it would ever be the champion of true liberty. Space will not permit me to relate the ups and downs of its growth. Let me say that I have seen the group here grow in numbers. Some, who at first were not in its favor, became helpers in the cause.

We here have had a deep interest in the growth of this our child. Today we find it installed in its new building, 16 by 24 feet, and two stories high, the material of which cost \$100, furnished by voluntary contribution and built by voluntary labor, equipped with an old Smith hand press, the gift of Comrade Lant of New York, and type enough to set the paper entire, with other supplies needed in the printing trade. I venture to say that under no other system could these results be attained.

It is said that history repeats itself. But a few short years ago, one William Lloyd Garrison, a staunch adherent of the principles of liberty, an advocate of individual freedom, was assaulted by a mob; a rope put around his neck; and while some were dragging him through the streets, others raided his printing office, fired it and destroyed his type and printing material. Today, we find his ideas have in a measure prevailed. Yet, strange as it may seem, here in the State of Washington, in the beginning of the twentieth century, we find men who fought through the Civil War to put in force and maintain the ideas advocated by Garrison, organized into a body of "Loyal Leaguers," with the openly avowed object of suppressing free speech and free press. That the little paper *Discontent* did not receive the same treatment accorded Garrison, was not the fault of the Loyal Leaguers or their champions, the Tacoma Ledger and Tacoma News. Just how the calamity was averted, none will probably ever know. It is enough to know that the child is well and hearty, and always hungry for the bright ideas of others.

Twice, in the short life of this paper, has one of its founders been called upon to answer the charge of sending obscene matter through the mails. Every radical knows that the discussion of the sex question necessitates the use of language that by impure minds may be declared obscene. While we have never asked for money through our paper to keep it in existence, feeling that as it was a child of our own begetting, it should be supported by those who felt willing; yet we feel that in the arrest of our comrades here, another issue is involved, that which strikes directly at the rights of every man, woman and child, the freedom of press and speech. Shall we retain the right, granted by the constitution, to assemble peaceably, and discuss questions that we feel are of importance to the development of the human race? If so, I am sorry to say we must fight for it; and to do so, we need money. Some have responded nobly; but we are far short of what is needed. Reader, can you assist us in this your fight?

OLIVER A. VERITY.

HOME NEWS.

Louis Haiman spent last Sunday with us.

Annie Gentis was here for several days this week visiting her friends.

County School Superintendent Dewey was here last Wednesday, looking over the school.

Mrs. Fannie Burton has returned from Seattle, where she spent a week with her husband, who is working there.

Rev. E. F. Doescher, of Tacoma, paid us another friendly visit last week, giving a talk in the schoolhouse on Wednesday evening.

G. C. Crofut, of Tacoma, at one time a resident of the Cooperative Brotherhood colony at Burley, was here for several days the past week.

Dan Christensen, of Anderson Island, visited us for a few hours last Sunday. Jens Ludholm returned with him and will remain there a week.

The salmon are beginning to run up the creek at the head of the bay; and the boys are out with gaff hooks every night, sometimes securing a good-sized haul.

The Chicago Martyrs were fittingly remembered on Sunday evening, by a well-attended memorial meeting, held at Mary C. Parker's house. The program consisted of appropriate opening remarks by C. L. Penhallow, the singing of Annie Laurie (which will always be associated with the memory of Albert Parsons) by Nettie Mueller, and an address by James F. Morton, Jr. Comrade Morton gave a brief account of the Chicago tragedy, and the events preceding and leading up to it, closing with a fervent peroration on behalf of the liberty for which the martyrs died.

The land owned by the Mutual Home Association is located on Von Geldern Cove (known locally as Joes Bay), an arm of Carrs Inlet, and is 13 miles west from Tacoma on an air line, but the steamer route is about 20 miles.

The association is simply a land-holding institution, and can take no part in the starting of an industry. All industries are inaugurated by the members interested and those willing to help them. Streets are not opened yet and we have no sidewalks. Those thinking of coming here must expect to work, as it is not an easy task to clear this land and get it in condition for cultivation. There are 87 people here—24 men, 23 women and 40 children—girls over 15 years 4, boys 3. We are not living communistic, but there is not anything in our articles of incorporation and agreement to prohibit any number of persons from living in that manner if they desire to do so. Those writing for information will please inclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope for reply.

RECEIPTS.

Ostrom \$1.50, Notkin \$1, Wissman 50c, Task 50c, Snellenberg 50c, Goodman 50c.

HOW TO GET TO HOME.

All those intending to make us a visit will come to Tacoma and take the steamer *TICONDA* for HOME. The steamer leaves Commercial dock every Monday, Wednesday Friday and Sunday mornings at 8 o'clock.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS FOR SALE BY DISCONTENT

Perfect Motherhood. Lois Waisbrooker.	1 00
Irene or the Road to Freedom. Sada Bailey Fowler.	1 00
Business Without Money. W. H. Van Ornum.	50
Helen Harlow's Vow. Lois Waisbrooker.	25
God and the State. By Michael Bakunin.	05
Moribund Society and Anarchy. By Jean Grave.	25
Anarchy. By Enrico Malatesta. Is It All a Dream? By Jas. F. Morton, Jr.	10
God and Government: The Siamese Twins of Superstition. W. E. Nevill.	05
The Chicago Martyrs; The Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists in Judge Gary's Court, and Algele's Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab.	25
Five Propaganda Leaflets on the Sex Question.	10
Personal Rights and Sexual Wrongs What the Young Need to Know. E. C. Walker	30
The Revival of Puritanism. E. C. Walker	10
Appeal to the Young. Kropotkin. Mating or Marrying, Which? W. H. Van Ornum.	05
The Evolution of the Family. Jonathan Mayo Crane.	05
Love in Freedom. Moses Harman. The Evolution of Modesty. Jonathan Mayo Crane.	05
The Regeneration of Society. Lillian Harman.	05
Motherhood in Freedom. Moses Harman.	05
Institutional Marriage. M. Harman. A Tale of the Strassburg Geese.	05
The Coming Woman. Lillie D. White.	05
Plain Words on the Woman Question. Grant Allen. With remarks by E. C. Walker.	05
Variety vs. Monogamy. E. C. Walker	05
Marriage and Morality. Lillian Harman.	05



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Articles of Incorporation and Agreement of the Mutual Home Association.

Be it remembered, that on this 17th day of January, 1898, we, the undersigned, have associated ourselves together for the purpose of forming a corporation under the laws of the State of Washington.

That the name of the corporation shall be The Mutual Home Association.

The purpose of the association is to assist its members in obtaining and building homes for themselves and to aid in establishing better social and moral conditions.

The location of this corporation shall be at Home, located on Joes Bay, Pierce County, State of Washington; and this association may establish in other places in this state branches of the same where two or more persons may wish to locate.

Any person may become a member of this association by paying into the treasury a sum equal to the cost of the land he or she may select, and one dollar for a certificate, and subscribing to this agreement.

The affairs of this association shall be conducted by a board of trustees, elected as may be provided for by the by-laws.

A certificate of membership shall entitle the legal holder to the use and occupancy of not less than one acre of land nor more than two (less all public streets) upon payment annually into the treasury of the association a sum equal to the taxes assessed against the tract of land he or she may hold.

All money received from memberships shall be used only for the purpose of purchasing land. The real estate of this association shall never be sold, mortgaged or disposed of. A unanimous vote of all members of this association shall be required to change these articles of incorporation.

No officer, or other person, shall ever be empowered to contract any debt in the name of this association.

All certificates of membership shall be for life.

Upon the death of any member a certificate of membership shall be issued covering the land described in certificate of membership of deceased:

First: To person named in will or bequest.

Second: Wife or husband.

Third: Children of deceased; if there is more than one child they must decide for themselves.

All improvements upon land covered by certificate of membership shall be personal property, and the association as such has no claim thereto.

Any member has the right of choice of any land not already chosen or set aside for a special purpose.

CERTIFICATE OF MEMBERSHIP.

This is to certify that has subscribed to the articles of incorporation and agreement and paid into the treasury of The Mutual Home Association the sum of . . . dollars, which entitles . . . to the use and occupancy for life of lot . . . block . . . as platted by the association, upon complying with the articles of agreement.

SEND 10 CENTS for specimens of 10 liberal papers and 10 tracts, circulars and sample of stocking yarn, or 3 cents for a copy of "Little Freethinker." Elmina Drake Slenker, Snowville, Va.

MEETING.

The Independent Debating Club meets every Sunday at 2 p.m. at 909 Market street, San Francisco, Calif. Free discussion. Public invited.